

Message Text

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USINFO FOR VOA/PN: TURKISH SERVICE, VOA/PC, PGM/PPE, EU

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: PREP, PORG (SOLARZ, STEPHEN J)
SUBJ: SOLARZ PRESS CONFERENCE IN ANKARA

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT USICA
ANKARA BY CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN J SOLARZ (D-NY) TUES 4 APRIL:
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SOLARZ: THANK YOU VERY MUCH. IT'S A REAL PLEASURE TO BE BACK
IN TURKEY. THIS IS MY SECOND VISIT TO ANKARA, AND I THINK I
HAVE COME AT A PARTICULARLY PROPITIOUS MOMENT, BECAUSE I
TRULY BELIEVE THAT WE'VE REACHED A CROSSROADS IN THE RELATION-
SHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I THINK THE EVENTS OF THE NEXT
FEW MONTHS WILL HAVE A CRITICAL IMPACT ON WHETHER OR NOT THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES SIGNIFICANTLY

IMPROVES OR PERHAPS IRREVOCABLY DETERIORATES. AND I MUST SAY FOR MYSELF THAT I WAS QUITE PLEASED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS CALLED UPON THE CONGRESS TO REPEAL THE EMBARGO OF AMERICAN ARMS ON TURKEY AND I AM VERY HOPEFUL THAT THE CONGRESS WILL ACCEPT HIS RECOMMENDATIONS AND VOTE TO REPEAL THE EMBARGO SOMETIME LATER THIS SPRING.

IN MY JUDGMENT I THINK THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN COMPLETELY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. IT NOT ONLY HASN'T FACILITATED ANY PROGRESS TOWARD A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT ON CYPRUS, WHICH WAS, ACCORDING TO THE SPONSORS OF THE EMBARGO, ONE OF ITS MAIN PURPOSES, BUT IT HAS ACTUALLY BEEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN TERMS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES. I THINK THERE'S A GROWING AWARENESS OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THIS POLICY HAS BEEN UNPRODUCTIVE, IN BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE COUNTRY. I THINK THERE'S A FEELING THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR US TO REESTABLISH A CONSTRUCTIVE AND CORDIAL RELATIONSHIP. I AM CONVINCED THAT THERE IS A WIDESPREAD REALIZATION OF THE IMPORTANT ROLE WHICH TURKEY HAS TO PLAY IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AND A FEELING THAT THE EMBARGO HAS CREATED PROBLEMS IN TERMS OF TURKEY'S ABILITY TO FULFILL ITS ROLE AS AN IMPORTANT MEMBER OF THE NATO ALLIANCE.

IN ADDITION TO ALL THAT, AND I THINK THIS IS A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT POINT, THERE IS A RECOGNITION IN THE CONGRESS AND AROUND THE COUNTRY THAT TURKEY IS ONE OF A HANDFUL OF GENUINELY UNCLASSIFIED

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DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. AND I THINK THAT OUR OWN COUNTRY HAS A VERY STRONG IDEOLOGICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL INTEREST IN HELPING TO MAINTAIN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN YOUR COUNTRY. I THINK WE WANT TO DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO ENCOURAGE THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY AND TO HELP CREATE A STABLE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT IN TURKEY IN WHICH DEMOCRACY CAN FLOURISH.

SO FOR ALL OF THESE REASONS, I'M PLEASED TO BE HERE ONLY A DAY OR TWO AFTER THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DECIDED TO RECOMMEND THE REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO. AFTER MY CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT AND OTHER MEMBERS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT, I PLAN TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON AND TO PLAY WHAT I HOPE WILL BE AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE EFFORT TO MUSTER SUPPORT TO THE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO AMONG MY COLLEAGUES IN THE CONGRESS. AS A MATTER OF FACT, AS MUCH AS I WOULD LIKE TO REMAIN IN TURKEY, BECAUSE I HAVEN'T YET AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE YOUR PEOPLE IN THEIR VILLAGES, IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, TO GO TO SOME OF THE OTHER CITIES IN THE COUNTRY, WHICH I'M TOLD ARE AT LEAST, IF NOT MORE, ATTRACTIVE THAN ANKARA, I MUST RETURN TOMORROW MORNING BECAUSE OUR COMMITTEE IS HAVING A HEARING ON THE TURKISH SITUATION ON THURSDAY AT WHICH SECRETARY OF STATE

VANCE WILL BE TESTIFYING IN FAVOR OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSALS. AND I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO BE BACK THERE ON THAT OCCASION.

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS, I WOULD BE HAPPY TO ANSWER THEM.

QUESTION: IN A RECENT INTERVIEW YOU HAD SIAD THERE WAS SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS FOR THE DCA. IS THAT VALID FOR THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, 599?

SOLARZ: I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE EASIER TO GET THE CONGRESS TO REPEAL THE EMBARGO THAN IT WOULD HAVE BEEN TO APPROVE THE DCA. I THINK THAT THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN A GOOD CHANCE FOR THE APPROVAL OF THE DCA, BUT I THINK THERE'S A BETTER
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CHANCE TO SECURE CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO. I SAY THAT BASICALLY FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS: LEAVING ASIDE QUESTIONS INVOLVING OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP, LEAVING ASIDE QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CONFLICT OVER CYPRUS, THERE IS A FEELING ON THE PART OF A NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS THAT IT IS INAPPROPRIATE FOR OUR COUNTRY TO ENTER INTO AGREEMENTS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES TO PAY RENT FOR THE USE OF INSTALLATIONS WHICH ARE NOT ONLY HELPFUL TO US BUT WHICH

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ARE PRESUMABLY AT LEAST PERIPHERALLY BENEFICIAL TO THE COUNTRY
IN WHICH THEY ARE LOCATED. AND THERE IS IN THIS CONNECTION
A FEELING THAT WERE WE TO AGREE TO PAY RENT FOR THE USE OF
THESE FACILITIES HERE, WE WOULD THEN BE BESIEGED BY
REQUESTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES TO PAY RENT FOR THE USE OF OUR
FACILITIES OVER THERE. THE UNITED STATES, AS YOU KNOW, IS A
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COUNTRY WHICH HAS INSTALLATIONS SIMILAR TO THE ONES THAT WE
HAVE IN TURKEY IN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD,
AND THIS WOULD NOT, I THINK A LOT OF MEMBERS FELT, HAVE BEEN
A PARTICULARLY USEFUL PRECEDENT. IN ADDITION TO THAT, THERE
HAS BEEN A TRADITIONAL RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF THE CONGRESS
TO ENTER INTO WHAT ARE KNOWN AS SO-CALLED MULTI-YEAR AUTHORIZA-
TIONS. YOU MAY RECALL THAT THE DCA BASICALLY REQUIRED US
TO PROVIDE, I THINK, A FOUR-YEAR COMMITMENT FOR FINANCIAL
ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY. IN OUR COUNTRY THERE HAS HISTORICALLY
BEEN A VERY JEALOUS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND
THE PRESIDENT. AND ONE OF THE MOST MEANINGFUL MECHANISMS
AVAILABLE TO THE CONGRESS, FOR IT TO ASSERT ITS PREROGATIVES,
VIS-A-VIS THE PRESIDENCY, IS ITS POWER OVER THE PURSE,
AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FEEL THAT IF THEY APPROVE THESE
AUTHORIZATIONS FOR A MULTI-YEAR PERIOD, THEY RELINQUISH
WHATEVER CONTINUING IMPACT THEY HAVE ON THE POLICY-MAKING
PROCESS. NOW, INsofar AS THE ADMINISTRATION HAD ASKED THE
CONGRESS TO APPROVE THE DCA, RATHER THAN TO SIMPLY REPEAL
THE EMBARGO, THESE OTHER TWO ISSUES, THE QUESTION OF RENT AND THE
QUESTION OF MULTI-YEAR AUTHORIZATIONS, WOULD HAVE BEEN
DRAGGED INTO THE DEBATE, AND THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN A NUMBER
OF MEMBERS--I CAN'T TELL YOU WHETHER IT WOULD HAVE BEEN TEN
OR FIFTY OR A HUNDRED--WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN INCLINED TO
VOTE AGAINST THE BASE AGREEMENT EVEN IF THEY HAD COME TO THE
CONCLUSION THAT THE EMBARGO NO LONGER SERVED A USEFUL PURPOSE,

SO IN THAT SENSE, I THINK THAT WE HAVE A BETTER CHANCE OF GETTING APPROVAL FOR THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, RATHER THAN THE APPROVAL OF THE BASE AGREEMENT. THE ONLY QUALIFICATION I WOULD ADD HERE IS THAT I DO THINK THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THERE BE SOME INDICATION THAT, ONCE THE EMBARGO IS LIFTED, WE WILL IN FACT BE IN A POSITION TO REUTILIZE THESE INSTALLATIONS. AND I AM HOPEFUL THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE ABLE TO INDICATE THAT IT HAS NO PROBLEM IN PRINCIPLE WITH THE CONTINUED UNCLASSIFIED

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UTILIZATION OF THESE FACILITIES BY THE UNITED STATES AND THAT IT ANTICIPATES NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS AS I ASSUME WE DON'T, IN RENEGOTIATING THE AGREEMENT.

QUESTION: DID YOU DISCUSS THIS WITH MR ECEVIT?

SOLARZ: IT WAS A MATTER THAT I DISCUSSED WITH HIM, AND I THINK THAT HE OUGHT TO SPEAK FOR HIMSELF ON THIS QUESTION. SUFFICE IT TO SAY THAT I CAME AWAY WITH THE CONCLUSION THAT THIS WOULD NOT BE A SERIOUS PROBLEM. BUT'S SURE YOU UNDERSTAND THAT PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRY WILL WANT TO KNOW WHETHER IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO USE THESE FACILITIES ONCE WE REPEAL THE EMBARGO AND PROVIDE TURKEY WITH \$175 MILLION IN FOREIGN MILITARY SALES CREDITS, PLUS ANOTHER \$50 MILLION IN SECURITY SUPPORT ASSISTANCE. BUT I TRUST THAT THAT PARTICULAR PROBLEM--WHICH I REALLY DON'T THINK IS A PROBLEM--CAN VERY EASILY BE WORKED OUT.

QUESTION: SIR, UNDER THE PRESENT PROCEDURE INITIATED, DOES IT MEAN THAT THE DCA HAS BEEN POSTPONED FOR A YEAR, OR DOES IT MEAN THAT IT HAS TOTALLY BEEN GIVEN UP?

SOLARZ: I THINK IT'S BEEN PUT IN A MUSEUM BOX, WHICH FUTURE STUDENTS WHO ARE WRITING THEIR DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS WILL ANALYZE IN ORDER TO SECURE THEIR DEGREES. MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THE TURKISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED TO RENEGOTIATE THE AGREEMENT. THE EXISTING BASE AGREEMENT NO LONGER HAS ANY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL STATUS. AT THE POINT AT WHICH THE NEW BASE AGREEMENT IS ARRIVED AT, THEN IT WILL PRESUMABLY BE PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS FOR ITS APPROVAL. BUT IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS INDICATED THAT IT PLANS TO RENEGOTIATE THE AGREEMENT, AND YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO THAT, I DON'T THINK THE CONGRESS IS GOING TO SPEND MUCH TIME ANALYZING THE PREVIOUS AGREEMENT, BECAUSE IT'S NO LONGER ON THE AGENDA.

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QUESTION: SIR, YOU HAVE BEEN TALKING OF RENTING THE BASES.
AS FAR AS I KNOW, IT IS TOTALLY AGAINST TURKEY'S POLICY TO
RENT ANY BASES. I WONDER IF YOU USED THIS WORD TO MR ECEVIT
AND IF HE REACTED TO IT, OR IS IT SIMPLY A MISTAKE ON YOUR
PART? BECAUSE IT WASN'T RENT IN THE DCA, BUT IT WAS DEFENSE

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SUPPORT, OR COMPENSATION EVEN, INDEMNITY.

SOLARZ: I WAS USING THE SHORTHAND LANGUAGE WHICH HAS BEEN
UTILIZED IN OUR COUNTRY TO DESCRIBE THE ARRANGEMENT. I FULLY

AGREE WITH YOU THAT THE TERMS OF THE DCA DID NOT PROVIDE FOR
A RENTAL PAYMENT QUA RENTAL PAYMENT. BUT THERE APPEARED
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TO BE A KIND OF IMPLICIT LINKAGE BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF
ASSISTANCE WE PROVIDED AND OUR ABILITY TO UTILIZE THESE
FACILITIES. MY UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION IS THAT NEITHER
YOUR GOVERNMENT NOR OUR GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS IT APPROPRIATE
FOR SUCH A LINKAGE TO BE ESTABLISHED. AND I THINK THAT'S
A VERY CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE. PRESUMABLY THESE INSTALLATIONS
SERVE A USEFUL PURPOSE NOT ONLY TO US BUT ALSO TO YOU AND
PRESUMABLE WE HAVE A MUTUAL INTEREST IN ENHANCING THE MILITARY
CAPACITY AND THE DEFENSE PREPAREDNESS OF TURKEY AS A VERY
IMPORTANT MEMBER OF THE NATO ALLIANCE. I THINK THAT THESE
ISSUES ARE ESSENTIALLY SEPARATE, AND I THINK IT IS INCUMBENT
UPON THE DIGNITY OF BOTH NATIONS THAT THEY BE CONSIDERED IN
THAT LIGHT.

QUESTION: REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON, USUALLY QUOTING STATE
DEPARTMENT SOURCES, INDICATE THAT IT WILL BE A TOUGH, UP-
HILL BATTLE TO REPEAL THE EMBARGO, THAT IN THE CONGRESS THE
CHANCES ARE NOT VERY HIGH THAT THE CONGRESS WILL REMOVE IT.
WHAT IS YOUR OPINION? AND IF IT IS KNOWN BY THE ADMINISTRATION
THAT IT WILL BE A DIFFICULT BATTLE, WHAT STRATEGY DO YOU THINK
PRESIDENT CARTER COULD APPLY VIS-A-VIA THE CONGRESS, LIKE
THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY WAS PASSED THROUGH THE SENATE WITH A
LOT OF HEAVY WORK ON THE PART OF THE ADMINISTRATION?

SOLARZ: I WOULD SAY THAT IT WILL BE EASIER FOR US TO WIN THE
APPROVAL OF THE CONGRESS FOR THE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO THAN
IT WILL BE FOR THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO PERSUADE THE TURKISH
CYPRIOTS TO LIMIT THE EXTENT OF TERRITORY IN THE TURKISH
CYPRIOT SECTOR OF CYPRUS TO ONLY 20 PER CENT. WHICH IS TO SAY
THAT, WHILE NOBODY SHOULD TAKE THIS BATTLE FOR GRANTED,
BECAUSE THE PRO-GREEK FORCES IN OUR COUNTRY I THINK WILL
LAUNCH A MASSIVE AND INTENSIVE EFFORT TO PERSUADE THE CONGRESS
TO MAINTAIN THE EMBARGO, I BELIEVE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A
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FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE OF ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF MANY MEMBERS
OF CONGRESS TOWARDS THIS QUESTION DURING OVER THE OCURSE OF
THE LAST FEW YEARS. I ALSO THINK THAT A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT
IN THE WHITE HOUSE WILL MAKE IT SOMEWHAT EASIER FOR US TO
WIN THE SUPPORT OF THE CONGRESS FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO
BECAUSE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AFTER ALL DOES CONSITUTE A
SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY OF BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, AND IT IS

SOMEWHAT EASIER FOR A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT TO SECURE THE SUPPORT OF THE CONGRESS THAN A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT. I DON'T WANT TO EXAGGERATE THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT IS EASIER, BUT I DO THINK IT'S marginally easier. NOW INsofar AS THE KIND OF EFFORT WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION IS GOING TO MAKE, A NUMBER OF US WHO HAVE BEEN IN CONSTANT CONSULTATION AND COMMUNICATION WITH THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE IMPRESSED UPON THEM TWO FUNDAMENTAL FACTS: FIRST, THAT WE THINK THE SUPPORT FOR THE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO IS POTENTIALLY PRESENT IN THE CONGRESS, BUT ONLY IF THE ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARED TO ROLL UP ITS SLEEVES AND MAKE A REAL EFFORT ON BEHALF OF THIS LEGISLATION. AND I AM HOPEFUL THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PEOPLE WILL PROVIDE THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP WHICH I THINK WILL BE NECESSARY TO REMOVE THE EMBARGO. I THINK THEY RECOGNIZE THE NECESSITY FOR EXERCISING STRONG LEADERSHIP ON THIS QUESTION. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THEY DID UNLESS THEY WERE PREPARED TO EXERCISE THAT LEADERSHIP, AND I FULLY EXPECT THAT THEY WILL. I MIGHT SAY THAT I THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR SOME OF YOUR OWN PEOPLE TO LEND A HAND IN THAT EFFORT. I SUGGESTED TO MR DENKTAS YESTERDAY IN CYPRUS IN MY DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM THAT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL IF HE CAME TO WASHINGTON, BECAUSE I REALLY DON'T BELIEVE THERE'S EITHER AN UNDERSTANDING OR AN APPRECIATION OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT CASE WITH RESPECT TO THE CONFLICT OVER CYPRUS. AND I THINK THAT MR DENKTAS IS A VERY PERSUASIVE SPOKESMAN WHOSE PRESENCE IN WASHINGTON WOULD BE HELPFUL IN GIVING THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS A BETTER AND FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY HAS A NUMBER OF VERY SERIOUS AND LEGITIMATE CONCERNS WHICH I THINK HAVE TO BE

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ADDRESSED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF WHATEVER SETTLEMENT IS ARRIVED AT. I THINK IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL IF THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF WERE IN A POSITION TO VISIT WASHINGTON BEFORE THE

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TIME THIS MATTER CAME UP FOR A VOTE. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER
THAT WILL BE POSSIBLE GIVEN HIS SCHEDULE. HE IS OF COURSE
PLANNING TO COME-- I GATHER, ALTHOUGH WE DIDN'T DISCUSS
THAT--TO THE NATO SUMMIT MEETING AT THE END OF MAY. BUT I
THINK THAT HE ALSO CAN PLAY A VERY USEFUL ROLE.

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QUESTION: ABOUT THE AMERICAN INSTALATIONS, BASES IN TURKEY,
I THINK MR ECEVIT SAID A FEW HOURS AGO, AFTER HE TALKED TO
YOU...THE PROBLEM OF INSTALLATIONS AND AMERICAN BASES WILL BE
LATER HANDLED DURING THE RENOGOTIATION OF THE DCA...BUT YOU
SAID NOW THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER AFTER THE REMOVAL OF THE
EMBARGO TO USE THESE INSTALLATIONS. ISN'T IT TRUE?

SOLARZ: I'M NOT SURE THAT I UNDERSTAND WAHT YOU SAID THE
PRIME MINISTER SAID. SO IF MAYBE YOU COULD REPEAT THE QUESTION.
I'LL BE HAPPY TO COMMENT ON IT, BUT I'M NOT SURE EXACTLY WHAT
HE SAID.

QUESTION: YOU SAID, I THINK IF I'M WRONG...AFTER THE
REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO IT WOULD BE BETTER THAT THE AMERICANS
MIGHT USE...START USING THE INSTALLATIONS. BUT MR ECEVIT

SAID THAT PROBABLY THIS WOULD TAKE TIME. MAYBE THIS PROBLEM WILL BE HANDLED DURING THE RENOGOTIATION OF THE DCA.

SOLARZ: MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THERE WILL HAVE TO BE, AND BOTH COUNTRIES ARE PLANNING, TO RENOGOTIATE THE BASE AGREEMENT, AND PRESUMABLY THE LONG-TERM ARRANGEMENTS THAT ARE MADE FOR THE USE OF THESE FACILITIES WILL BE SET OUT IN THE COURSE OF WHATEVER RENOGOTIATED AGREEMENT IS ARRIVED AT. I CERTAINLY WOULD HOPE THAT ONCE THE EMBARGO IS REMOVED, THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE DCA COULD VERY PROMPTLY BEGIN. AND I CERTAINLY THINK IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY INDICATED THAT IT HAD NO PROBLEM IN PRINCIPLE WITH OUR USE OF THESE FACILITIES ONCE THE EMBARGO ON TURKEY HAS BEEN LIFTED. THAT IS IN FACT MY UNDERSTANDING OF THE POSITION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT. NO ONE IS SUGGESTING, SO FAR AS I KNOW, THAT WE USE THE BASES WITHOUT ANY RENEGOTIATED DCA. I MIGHT SAY THAT I WOULD BE HOPEFUL, GIVEN THE GOODWILL WHICH I THINK THE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO WOULD PRESUMABLY UNCLASSIFIED

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GENERATE, THAT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IF WE WERE ABLE TO USE THE BASES TEMPORARILY AFTER THE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO ON THE BASIS PERHAPS OF THE PREVIOUS DCA, PENDING A RENOGOTIATION OF THE DCA, IN ORDER TO ELEIMINATE WHATEVER PROBLEMS MAY HAVE EXISTED IN THE PAST. I THINK IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE IF, AFTER THE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO, THE BASES REMAINED CLOSED WHILE NEGOTIATIONS OF A NEW DCA DRAGGED ON FOR SEVERAL YEARS, BECAUSE I THINK THAT THAT WOULD CREATE A BAD ATMOSPHERE. BUT ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS THINK THAT THESE FACILITIES HAVE A USEFUL ROLE TO PLAY, AND ASSUMING FURTHER THAT THERE ARE NO GREAT DIFFICULTIES IN RENEGOTIATING THE DCA, I WOULD BE HOPEFUL THAT THESE MATTERS COULD BE RESOLVED VERY PROMPTLY AND THAT IN SHORT ORDER THE BASES COULD BE OPEN AGAIN. IF IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT TO PERMIT US TO USE THESE FACILITIES AFTER THE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO, PENDING THE RENEGOTIATION OF THE DCA, I THINK THAT WOULD BE A VERY CONSTRUCTIVE DEVELOPMENT, BECAUSE I THINK THAT WOULD ALSO IMPROVE THE OVER-ALL ATMOSPHERE. BUT ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, I AM, ON THE BASIS OF MY DISCUSSIONS TODAY, CONFIDENT THAT, IF WE CAN RESOLVE THE BILATERAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN US WHICH HAS BEEN CREATED BY THE EMBARGO, THAT THESE FACILITIES WILL ONCE AGAIN BE MADE AVAILABLE UNDER APPROPRIATE CIRCUMSTANCES TO THE UNITED STATES.

QUESTION: WHAT HAPPENS IF THE BATTLE IS LOST IN THE CONGRESS?

SOLARZ: THE QUESTION IS, "WHAT HAPPENS IF THE BATTLE IS LOST IN CONGRESS?" WELL, I SUPPOSE I SHOULD ASK YOU THAT QUESTION, RATHER THAN ANSWER IT MYSELF.

QUESTION: DID YOU ASK OUR PREMIER?

SOLARZ: YES, AND I HAVE PUT THE QUESTIONS TO OTHERS. SUFFICE IT TO SAY THAT, IF THE BATTLE IS LOST IN CONGRESS, IT WILL NOT LEND MOMENTUM TO AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. BUT I PREFER TO BE OPTIMISTIC, UNCLASSIFIED

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AND I THINK THE BATTLE CAN BE WON AND, IN FACT, I'M CONFIDENT THAT IT WILL BE WON, ALTHOUGH I DON'T UNDERESTIMATE THE DIFFICULTIES THAT LIE AHEAD. THIS IS NOT, I MUST TELL YOU, AN OPEN-AND-SHUT CASE. THERE WILL BE PEOPLE PREPARED TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST IT, AND WE HAVE OUR WORK CUT OUT FOR US. BUT ON BALANCE I THINK THE ODDS ARE VERY SIGNIFICANTLY IN OUR FAVOR. LAST QUESTION.

QUESTION: WHAT HAVE YOU GOT TO OFFER YOUR OPPONENTS IN CONGRESS

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DEPARTMENT FOR D, EUR/SE, EUR/P, PA

USINFO FOR VOA/PN: TURKISH SERVICE, VOA/PC, PGM/PPE, EU

ON THIS? YOU ARE NOT ABLE TO OFFER, IT SEEMS, ANYTHING ON THE BASES, OTHER THAN A HOPE, AND YOU HAVEN'T ANYTHING TO OFFER ON CYPRUS. WHAT ARE YOU ACTUALLY, CONCRETELY ABLE TO OFFER ANYONE WHO'S AGAINST YOUR MOVE?

SOLARZ: I THINK WHAT WE HAVE TO OFFER FIRST AND FOREMOST IF UNCLASSIFIED

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A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN AMERICAN-TURKISH RELATIONS, A RELATIONSHIP WHICH HAS DETERIORATED SIGNIFICANTLY OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS, AND A RELATIONSHIP WHICH IS VERY IMPORTANT TO THE MUTUAL SECURITY OF BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES. SECONDLY, I THINK THAT WHAT WE HAVE TO OFFER THE OPPONENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE CONGRESS IS THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE MILITARY ABILITY OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES, WHICH HAVE UNFORTUNATELY BEEN SOMEWHAT IMPAIRED BY THE EXISTENCE OF THE EMBARGO, AND THEREBY WHAT WE HAVE TO OFFER THEM IS THE ENHANCEMENT OF TURKEY'S ABILITY, AS ONE OF THE KEY ELEMENTS IN THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO, TO FULFILL ITS OBLIGATIONS TO THE NATO ALLIANCE, AT A TIME WHEN THE PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRY ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SOVIET BUILDUP IN EASTERN EUROPE, AT A TIME WHEN WE ARE BEGINNING TO SPEND SUBSTANTIALLY MORE MONEY ON OUR OWN DEFENSE PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THAT CONCERN, I THINK THAT MOST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WOULD THINK IT SOMEWHAT COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO IMPAIR THE COMBAT CAPACITY OF A VERY IMPORTANT NATO ALLY. THIRDLY, WHAT I THINK WE HAVE TO OFFER THE OPPOSITION IN THE CONGRESS IS THE PROSPECT OF REMOVING A SIGNIFICANT IMPEDIMENT TO PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. TO BE SURE, AT LEAST AS OF THE MOMENT, IT'S NOT POSSIBLE TO POINT TOWARD PROGRESS ON CYPRUS, BUT I THINK IT IS POSSIBLE TO ARGUE THAT ONE OF THE REASONS, ALTHOUGH BY NO MEANS THE SOLE OR EVEN THE MAJOR REASON, THAT WE HAVEN'T HAD PROGRESS ON CYPRUS IS PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THE EMBARGO. I THINK THAT'S THE CASE BECAUSE ON THE ONE HAND IT HAS CREATED A SITUATION WHERE IT BECOMES POLITICALLY MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS, BECAUSE NO COUNTRY LIKES TO APPEAR AS IF IT IS MAKING CONCESSIONS UNDER THE PRESSURE OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, BUT IT HAS ALSO CREATED OBSTACLES TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PROGRESS ON CYPRUS BY CREATING A SITUATION IN WHICH THE GREEK CYPRIOTS AND THE

GREEK GOVERNMENT HAVE LESS OF AN INCENTIVE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS,
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BECAUSE THEY KNOW THAT TO THE EXTENT THERE IS PROGRESS ON
CYPRUS, THE EMBARGO IS LIKELY TO BE LIFTED, AND I DON'T
BELIEVE THAT THEY FEEL IT'S IN THEIR INTERESTS FOR THE
EMBARGO TO BE LIFTED. SO IN THAT SENSE I THINK WE CAN MAKE
THE ARGUMENT THAT THE EMBARGO HAS BEEN A DOUBLE IMPEDIMENT
TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. SO, FOR ALL THOSE
REASONS I THINK WE DO HAVE SOMETHING TO OFFER. I THINK THAT
THE PROSPECT OF REOPENING THE INSTALLATIONS IS MUCH MORE THAN
A HOPE. I THINK IT'S AN ACCURATE ASSESSMENT OF WHAT IS
LIKELY TO HAPPEN. AND I THINK FINALLY, ON THE BASIS OF MY
DISCUSSION IN CYPRUS WITH MR DENKTAS, THAT OVER THE COURSE
OF THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, IF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS ARE
SUBMITTED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL, AS I UNDERSTAND THEY WILL
BE, THAT ON THE BASIS OF WHAT I'VE BEEN TOLD ABOUT THEM,
IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR THOSE WHO ADVOCATE THE REPEAL OF THE
EMBARGO TO SAY IN FACT THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE TOWARD
A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT OVER CYPRUS, BY VIRTUE OF THE
FACT THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY HAS PUT ON THE
TABLE SERIOUS PROPOSALS THAT CONSTITUTE A REASONABLE BASIS
FOR THE BEGINNING OF A SERIOUS NEGOTIATION OF THE CYPRUS
QUESTION. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.
SPIERS

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